THE NEW REPUBLIC

Diversity Is Not Dead

Herbert J. Gans

Kennedy and His Spectators

James MacGregor Burns

Two Views of Atomic War

Bertrand Russell

Gamble in Laos

The Editors

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Eisenhower Chickens

★ Kennedy is struggling gamely in Laos for a compromise settlement which Eisenhower could have had, and rejected. Communists would have welcomed a neutralized Laos two years ago but we wouldn't take it – it would have meant dealing with Red China which was unpatriotic and unthinkable. The US has been complaining of the Soviets' recent airlift into Laos, a country into which we ourselves dumped a third of a billion dollars, nearly all military. We tried – and failed – to make this a pocket-sized ally. Britain and France warned us.

It looks as though we can get out of this crisis without a war; we surely hope so. It would be a war in about the worst possible place for us. The Laotians don't want to fight, they are Buddhist pacifists. They only want to be let alone. Behind Khrushchev are the Chinese, probably making this a test of K's hardness against the West which they bitterly questioned at the Moscow meeting last November.

Will Khrushchev be reasonable? A negotiated settlement which he now agrees to probably means, in practice, that Communists maintain the territorial advantage which they now have. If this seems a stiff price to pay, it might be judicious to ask ourselves what the United States would do now – if we had K over a barrel instead of the other way 'round. The price would have been lower two years ago and possibly more recently.

It is boring to keep coming back to Eisenhower. Yet his chickens will be roosting for years ahead, we fear. Laos is one. Then there is the budget. Kennedy cited the preposterously over-optimistic revenue estimates last week, and moved to increase the skimped defense expenditures. Then there is the space program. Remember when Eisenhower pooh-poohed the first Sputnik? Just an "aerial basketball"! Well, Moscow successfully launched space ships No. 4 and 5 this month, bringing back a live dog in the latest five ton affair. They'll have a man in space any day now. Eisenhower's fault? Well, hardly! But did his Administration, obsessed with inflation, ever give the country a realistic appraisal of that or any other problem?

How pleasant is the amoral approach to the Universe? How romantic and sentimental, for example, are the centennial articles about the Civil War! There is a jolly game of refighting the battles, and dressing up in old-fashioned uniforms and having a gay old time celebrating the whole gaudy affair while forgetting the slaughter and tactfully ignoring the slave issue. Slavery – human slavery . . . That's what the South wanted. Slave families were broken up on the auction block. Propertied classes had a vested interest in "the peculiar institution." One drop of African blood made anyone a "nigger." And 100 years later it is only with difficulty that the grandson of the great northern general who heads the US centennial commission can be made to understand that equal racial hotel rights must be extended to members of his group who visit Charleston, S. C. Of all the things to commemorate it had apparently never occurred to him that that was included.

The Amoral Approach

★ We are struck by this amoral approach to things. For example, a fine little parlor game can be created around the sport of getting bills passed in Congress. One side is the GOP-Southern Democrats, the other the Kennedy Liberals. Let's take the minimum wage bill for example. Each side starts with the same number of counters which are moved like parchesi in intricate parliamentary combat. (The counters, of course, are blocs of human beings, but we don't have to think of that.) It was a wonderfully close game last week affecting the lives of millions – the Administration lost by a margin of one vote, 186 to 185.

There were shrewd players on each side. To win Congressional support the Administration boldly "sacrificed" its hotel workers' counter. (That excluded tens of thousands of hapless, underpaid charwomen and kitchen help.) Brilliantly meeting this, the conservatives offered a narrower formula of interstate commerce: only enterprises grossing $1 million a year, with five branches, operating in two states. (That exempted Senator Goldwater's department store in Phoenix, Arizona, and the Bohack chain of markets in New York, with 4,400 employees, grossing $160 million.) Just before the final House vote the Administration – to win over Carl Vinson (D, Ga.) – agreed to exclude a bloc of 150,000 laundry workers. (Some watchers thought they heard a kind of wail go up from the steam tables of great laundry chains.) Then the vote was taken with the exciting result already mentioned. Even with all its compromises the Administration lost by a single vote. It is amazing how diverting these contests are if you can adopt this amoral approach. They are as entertaining as a nice, bloody bull fight.

Well, Kennedy needs support. These statistics tell his precarious position. He was elected by a margin so close that a change of one vote in each precinct would have reversed it. He won his Rules Committee fight in the House by an eyelash – 209 to 202. He beat the Byrd Amendment to hamstring extension of unemployment benefits by only 44 to 42. He knocked off an amendment to weaken the Area Redevelopment (distressed area) bill, by only 49 to 45. And he lost the House minimum wage extension battle 186-to-185. (The Senate may restore some lost ground.) On the whole the issues ahead are tougher than the ones so far.

If . . .

★ One other thought. If liberal Democrats had won instead of lost their 21 House seats last election they would have won this minimum wage fight. Again, if House seats were fairly reapportioned by states to eliminate farm "rotten boroughs" and give cities the representation their population entitles them to, the laundry workers, the hotel workers, the other voiceless, faceless little people in the country might get $50 for a week's work.

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Gamble in Laos

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THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
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F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:

Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

The landing of US Marines near the Thai-Laos border, had it occurred three months ago instead of last week, would have sent chills up the spines of some important Asian leaders – namely in India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, and Laos' neutralist immediate neighbor, Cambodia. Today, the Russians know that even unilateral US military counter-measures in Laos would have at least the covert sympathy of all these governments. That is because Mr. Kennedy is espousing a new US doctrine around which a new non-Communist coalition can be formed – the integrity of neutralism. He is saying that Laos need not, should not be an advance US military base, but that neither must it become a Soviet-supplied base from which the Communists can threaten the independence of other Asians. But if one assumes, as appears probable on March 27, that the President's initial exercise in brinkmanship will not lead to a new "Korea" and that the Russians will push the Pathet Lao to the bargaining table, can any political settlement last for long; or are all of the countries along the Chinese periphery in Southeast Asia, Laos in the first instance, destined someday to come under Communist Chinese hegemony?

The long-term odds in Laos are on the Communist side, for as Communist Chinese power grows, so will Chinese influence. But in South and Southeast Asia taken as a region, the odds for the survival of militarily uncommitted states free, as neutralists, to pursue their national interest, are not so unfavorable as James Reston of the *New York Times* implies when he speaks of "two vast consolidations . . . now proceeding in the world: the Communist consolidation of all but a few areas next to their frontiers, and the Western consolidation of the free nations [in] a commonwealth of the Atlantic, strong enough to stand against any threat from the expanding Communist nations."

Such a bi-polarization is not inevitable, not even likely. At any rate, its avoidance should be as central an aim of Western diplomacy as the consolidation of the NATO alliance. The President seemed to disassociate himself pointedly from this spheres-of-influence diplomacy in his Inaugural Address: "Let both sides join in creating . . . *not a new balance of power*, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved" [italics added]. In other words, Mr. Kennedy is not prepared to write off Southeast Asia or the Middle East or any other part of the world as a Soviet or a Chinese preserve in exchange for similar understandings with respect to the Western position in, let us say, Latin America or Western Europe. If

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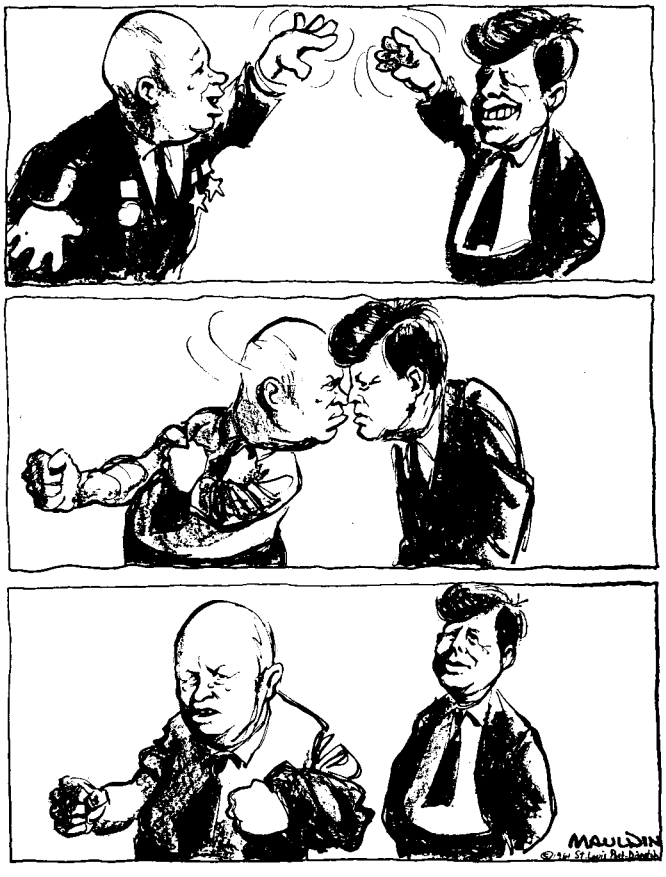
the President had not jettisoned the commitment of the Eisenhower Administration to maintain pro-American military client regimes around the Communist periphery, such a position would be untenable. But he has cast off this encumbrance, promising to end the US military presence in Laos once the civil war stops and a political settlement is attained. Though he has avoided direct criticism of previous policy so as to gain General Eisenhower's support, he did go so far as to say that "if there has been any possible ground for misunderstanding of our desire for a truly neutral Laos, there should be none now." In short, he has gained the political elbow room needed to engage in the risky game of brinkmanship. And his Laos performance has been believable brinkmanship conducted with skill enough to enlist the allegiance of SEATO, Prime Ministers Nehru and Macmillan, and the Republicans.

What this crisis has dramatized is the inevitability not of a division of the world into spheres of influence but of a gradual drift to neutralism, irrespective of continent. In a world in which distances mean less and less, both of the great power systems naturally acquire interests on a global scale and the smaller states, whether in Latin America or Africa or Asia, naturally find it in their interest to deal with both. And it is not just smaller nations which seek safety in abstaining from too binding an alliance with either of the giants; the Great Powers themselves begin to see the practical advantage of not requiring all nations to choose up sides unreservedly. Nehru, for example, may have irritated many anti-Communists in the past, but he has been very useful on this and other occasions, and will be again. In the Dulles years, the US conditioned large-scale aid to most of the smaller countries on their willingness to be anti-Communist in ways we chose them to be. They didn't like it; it was demeaning; Soviet propaganda made the most of that dependency. But if the US now says not only that neutralism is *not* immoral, but is positively right and desirable for such countries as Laos, what can the Communists reply! They will not get far if they do not at least pay lip service to the rights of neutralists, and unless they share to some extent the burden of supporting neutralism. If they choose to be the enemy of neutralism and proceed to smash the independence of states which merely want to be left in peace (as the Chinese may in time seek to do) they are undertaking more than they may be able to accomplish without paying inordinately.



"You Trying to Confuse Me, Boy?"

Now, one might question whether Laos can ever be anything but someone's dependency. That remains to be tested. It may be that non-Communist political elements in the country have been too badly battered in the Cold War, are too impoverished, and that the Pathet Lao would soon capture any coalition government that might be agreed to by the projected 14-nation peace conference. It is important to recognize, however, that the Laotians have never had much chance to cultivate a non-Communist, neutralist political alternative to the Pathet Lao. For the past five years the objective of the CIA, according to *Time* last week, has been to " 'polarize' the Communist and anti-Communist factions in Laos" so that everyone would stand up and be counted. Confronted with such a distasteful choice, most of the politically-minded Laotians were, as was widely predicted, counted on the wrong side.

With a neutralist leader such as the exiled Premier Souvanna Phouma and new elections, no one can foretell what non-Communist leadership might emerge and how it will fare. It will surely need outside help of all kinds, but outside help is not the same as outside dictation, or dependence on only one source of supply. The future of Laos will hinge, in the first instance, on the nature of the peace settlement. A confederal setup such as that proposed by the Vientiane government on March 20 (Pathet Lao control, within a national government, of its strongholds in Sam Neua and Phongsaly and perhaps one other province) may be agreed to. The question that will then remain is the disposition of the Pathet Lao armed forces. If their integration into a new national Army means that their units are kept intact as separate entities, then popular confidence in the stability of Vientiane neutralism will be meager; the civil war will simply go temporarily underground.

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Betting on Laotian neutralism is thus a considerable gamble – but if the Russians go along, the gamble must be taken. If the civil war can be halted and a central governing authority accepted by all, time will have been bought in which to strengthen the political economies of the group of states of which Laos is the nexus – Thailand, Cambodia, and South Vietnam – exploring the possibilities for measures of regional economic integration (the Mekong River project has already reflected thinking in this direction). Time will have been bought in which to strengthen India and Pakistan. Perhaps most important of all, time will have been bought for a gradual disengagement by the US from its profitless economic and political quarantine of China. The logical sequel to an acceptance of Laotian neutralism is the acceptance of it throughout the Far East, and the sooner this is made clear the stronger the position of the US will be should China break loose in another crisis in another year – for example, in South Vietnam, where the Viet Cong guerrillas are gaining alarming strength. Lurking behind the daily news from Laos has been the shadow of a serious Sino-Soviet power struggle. Though the major non-Communist governments' intelligence services do not entirely agree as to why the Russians rather than the Chinese have been stoking the fires in Laos, the consensus is that they are there to keep the Pathet Lao and/or the Vietminh out of Chinese control and thus to prevent Peking from determining Communist strategy in Asia.

At bottom, the President is asking the Soviet Union (and China) to abide by the rule of peaceful, though competitive, coexistence; to refrain from instigating, directing and arming insurrections; to tolerate the evolution of regimes which are hostile to "neither bloc," which accept help from all sides, conspire against none of their neighbors and will not be used as a spearhead for an attack on others. That is asking quite a bit. But no more than must be asked.

School Aid Fight

It will not do to jump, as does one of our correspondents, from the valid assumption that parents should have the right to bring up their young as they choose, so long as they give them some schooling, to the proposition that the state must therefore support all schooling equally, no matter what is taught. It is equally question-begging, in our judgment, to juxtapose, as does another of our correspondents, public school "free education" as against parochial school "separatist indoctrination," and draw the obvious conclusion that the state should support the one, but not "tax all of us to promote the religious and political ends of some of us." It had better be faced that the public school system is not "free" from the vantage point of some of our people, in that, while neutral toward all religion, it exerts its own, affirmative, assimilating influence.

This is not to admit Mr. Hurley's argument that public school secularism "has positive religio/philosophic content" or that it ought consequently to be treated by the state as "a mere sect among sects." Public school secularism is what we render unto Caesar and what we get from Caesar. It has made us one, as, unlike most other nations, we needed to be made, for we came of heterogenous heritages. This is the work of the state. It is not yet done – witness the problems not only of Little Rock and New Orleans but of New York and New Rochelle. No one else can do it properly, for no one else represents us all. It flies in the face of the realities of American history to say that the secular, unifying, equalitarian force of the state should be required to "prove itself in the marketplace of ideas without state support." That is an argument not for aid to parochial schools but against free public schools altogether. Yet to recognize that the public school system has had and continues to have an historic Americanizing mission is not to suggest, as our correspondent Councilman Gilligan of Cincinnati thought, that private schools are somehow not "officially acceptable" or "second class." The First Amendment, setting limits on the mission of the state, forbids the state so to consider them. And it is a fact of social and political life in this country that they are generally not so considered.

It is also a social and political fact that immense strides have recently been made toward more enlightened and amiable relations between the faiths. President Kennedy is a symbol of that. It is not too much to say, as the President himself has indicated, that the present position of the Catholic Church on school aid offers a grave threat to the consolidation of that progress and increases the danger that American politics could become a reflection of the rivalries of religious denominations. Of course, the Church is entitled to express its wishes publicly. Of course, the views of the Church do not necessarily have the monolithic support of its communicants here any more than in Puerto Rico. Thus the lay Catholic magazine *Commonweal* has declared in favor of the Administration program. But the hierarchy, led by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Cardinal Archbishops, is monolithic. And it is doing two things that are regrettable. It is putting itself forward as a political lobby, no different from a medical or a housing lobby, using all the instruments of political pressure to secure a financial advantage; failing, in this instance, to render unto Caesar what is due Caesar. Secondly, the Church is not merely pressing its own views; it would punish the American people for failing to accept its views, and even for failing to accept them *now* in the exact form desired, by attempting to cause the defeat of the entire effort to enact legislation providing for federal aid to educa-

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tion. "We beg them not to do so . . . it would be most unfortunate for a major Church to press its own interests in a way that would threaten the strengthening of our basic educational system." This is the temperate plea addressed to the Catholic hierarchy in a statement signed by the top Protestant clergymen, as well as, among others, the Presidents of Princeton, Columbia and Harvard.

Mental Illness

After five years, following 10 interim monographs and at a cost of $1.5 million, a Congressionally-authorized study on mental illness has been released. It shows that 80 percent of 277 mental hospitals provide only custodial care, not remedial treatment, for patients; more than half of those in most state hospitals receive no active therapy of any kind, though there is much that can be done for those suffering from schizophrenia, and they are the largest number of the mentally ill. State hospitals carry a daily load of 540,000 patients and look after nearly a million during a year, but many of these patients could be released following treatment.

The Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health concludes on a familiar note: to learn more than we now know (research) and to put to better use what we do know (services), more money is needed. It is suggested that present expenditures which are now close to $1 billion a year should be doubled in the next five years and tripled within the next 10, with local, state and federal government sharing the cost. Federal grants in aid are now limited to research and training; the Commission proposes that grants be given also for hospital and community services to patients. It hopes to see the gradual conversion of state hospitals of more than 1,000 beds into centers for all chronic diseases and their replacement by community clinics, special intensive treatment hospitals, general hospital units and emergency clinics. It calls for recruiting more qualified people, a new philosophy of treatment which would enable non-professionals without medical degrees to take on some of the work load and a recognition that intensive therapy for those with prolonged breakdowns should have first call on trained professionals.

The report is in. What will be done? A President once turned his concern about the relatively minor disease of polio into a nationwide crusade. Sen. Lister Hill seems to think something like this might be done about the mentally ill. But the authors of the report, representing 45 national organizations interested in the problem of mental health, admit that despite scandalous exposures of inadequate care, the mentally ill lack appeal; they tend to disturb or offend; we can "no longer stand them"; we are saddened by their stories, but relieved when they are "put out of the way."

Hi Ho, Hoot!

The President announced his intention last February to appoint as Governor of Guam Bill Daniel, brother of the Governor of Texas. Last week he formally submitted the nomination to the Senate. The hearings could be interesting. Sometimes known as Brother Bill or "Hoot" (he was chief yell-leader at Baylor University many years ago and has kept up this extracurricular interest), the nominee is Lyndon Johnson's personal selection. He pressed his choice upon Mr. Kennedy with vigor. Why not? Guam is a tiny place, only about 206 square miles, far away – 3,300 miles west and south of Hawaii, with only 40,000 residents. How much harm could "Hoot" do?

And he will be colorful. "Hoot" has quite a reputation as an entertainer – even a buffoon. During his brother's campaigns, he wears a white cowboy suit, white hats and white boots and performs as a sideshow barker. On his ranch outside Liberty in East Texas he has built a miniature town: a barbershop, saddle shop, etc. He has played bit parts in Hollywood, having last appeared in *The Alamo*. He is a big-game hunter – hunting lions, wildcats, jaguars and bear. He was his brother's "ambassador" to Alaska in 1958, prosecuting attorney in Liberty, Texas, for several years, and a member of the State legislature in Texas for three sessions where he behaved tolerably well and supported efforts to ban "subversive" books from school libraries and to establish a state Un-American Activities Committee. He is president of Daniel Land Company and has made considerable money in oil.

The Senate is likely to confirm him. Guam awaits his arrival with curiosity. Hoot hoot hoot.

Postmaster's Knock

In its crusade against health care benefits for the 14 million "senior citizens" currently receiving social security checks, the AMA has found an inadvertent ally within the Kennedy Cabinet itself – Postmaster General J. Edward Day. Last summer, when he was a vice president of the Prudential Life Insurance Company and when appointment to the Cabinet must have seemed as improbable as Khrushchev's becoming the head of the NAM, Mr. Day wrote an article for a reactionary magazine called *The Freeman* in which he attacked the social security system in general and the addition of health benefits in particular. Now, the AMA has rescued the article from the obscurity which also attended Mr. Day's first novel some 15 years ago.

The Postmaster General's opinion of government health insurance, shared by many commercial insurance men, is not likely to tip the legislative scale one way or another; his Department will not be asked to

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John Kennedy and his Spectators

The Kennedy build-up goes on. The adjectives tumble over one another. He is not only the handsomest, the best dressed, the most articulate and graceful as a gazelle. He is omniscient; he swallows and digests whole books in minutes; his eye seizes instantly on the crucial point of a long memorandum; he confounds experts with his superior knowledge of their field. He is omnipresent; no sleepy staff committee can be sure that he will not telephone – or pop in; every host at a party can hope that he will. He is omnipotent; he personally bosses and spurs the whole shop; he has no need of Ike's staff apparatus; he is more than a lion, more than a fox. He's Superman!

Is this over-compensation for wrongs done to Kennedy in the past? I remember people looking at me incredulously when I argued that he had the makings of a great President. He was so young, immature, on-the-make. He would be run by the Pope, or by his father, or by his staff. He just didn't look like a President. Someone quoted Lincoln to me – would anything *Kennedy* said be remembered a century later? That was about a year before the Inaugural.

Now the build-up is at full throttle, aided, let us admit, by the excellent press-agentry of a politically-astute staff. It's an old American custom. Besides, Mr. Kennedy deserves it. Why be concerned? For three reasons.

For one thing, the build-up is too indiscriminate. Take the question of the way the President has organized his Administration. We hear much about his method of direct command, his distaste for bland and watery committee reports, his omnivorous reading, his accessibility. All this is desirable, and certainly refreshing after Eisenhower. But the point is that there is *no* ideal way to organize the White House. Every system has its drawbacks. FDR accomplished a great deal by personal command; but there was another side to the story – tangled lines of communication, wasted energy, the dissipation of a sense of direction. Moreover, Kennedy's main problem is not administrative, but political. His troubles are not in the Executive; they are in Congress and the Democratic Party.

Secondly, the build-up will not last. The public can be cruel, and so can the press. Behind the peoples' adulation for the President is a partiality for seeing the pendulum swing – and they will give it a shove. The swing will be all the stronger because of the intensity of the build-up. Americans build their triumphal arches out of brick, Mr. Dooley said, so as to have missiles handy when their heroes have fallen. Harry Truman enjoyed a burst of sympathy when he took office; then people turned against him savagely; then the pendulum swung back in his favor after his surprise defeat of Dewey; and then it again swung heavily against him.

The same journals that are giving Kennedy such uncritical acclaim now will be among the first to turn on him when his momentum slackens, or when people grow bored. I can see their lead sentences now: "The Kennedy Administration was first carried forward in a tidal wave of enthusiasm. For a while it seemed he was the answer to the nation's prayers. But it could not last, hopes are fading, the problems remain, the Administration falters. . . ."

Finally, and most important by far, the build-up nourishes one of our worst political vices – watching instead of doing. Across the nation people smilingly approve the President's latest appearance on television, then switch off their sets – and their minds – as though they were as little involved with him as they are with Ed Sullivan. Watching the President perform has become the great spectator sport of 1961. If present adulation could be translated into practical support on Capitol Hill, all would be well for the Kennedy programs. But there is no such alchemy. One reason Congress fails to respond to his invitation to occupy the New Frontier is that there is so little general *pressure* for it; Kennedy is expected to do it himself. Superman does.

The "hundred days" theory was never applicable. Indeed, the idea is a positive danger. Drastic action did come during FDR's first few months, and the precedent leads us to assume Mr. Kennedy should be able to pull the same rabbits out of the same hat. But the situation is different; Kennedy must mobilize national strength in all fields, month after month, in 1963 and 1964 as well as this year and next. As he comes to grips with his opposition in Congress, his foes will obscure the issues. The mass media will grow tired of Caroline and White House decoration and will turn to new fancies. When the Administration may need support the most to carry programs through Congress, it may not have it, because Superman's spectators never left their seats and got around to organizing their support.

Our greatest protection against the let-down that follows the build-up is Kennedy himself. He is too self-possessed and dispassionate to be as carried away as the slicks and the spectators. So, I think, is his staff. One of the best statements since the Inaugural is credited to McGeorge Bundy: "At this point," he said, "we are like the Harlem Globetrotters, passing forward, behind, sidewise and underneath. But nobody has made a basket yet."

James MacGregor Burns

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develop an official position on HR 4222, the Administration's bill to add health benefits to the social security system. Yet it is noteworthy that a quarter-century after enactment of the Social Security Act, the man who was Adlai Stevenson's insurance commissioner in Illinois could write: "Many have a mistaken belief that Social Security is a savings plan, with the payroll taxes saved up to provide for the employee's future benefits. The fact is that Social Security is a pay as you go plan – or, more accurately, an *under* pay as you go plan. The Social Security Trust Fund is in fact only a contingency reserve. Some estimates . . . say the Trust Fund will be entirely used by the year 2000. But big as the Trust Fund seems, it would have to be *three times* as big as it is now just to pay future benefits to the 13.7 million people already on the benefit rolls."

This fallacy is often propounded by those who do not distinguish between business and government. Private life insurance companies must maintain financial reserves equal to the present value of all benefits minus the present value of future premium collections. The law requires this. A private company must be able to meet its benefit liabilities or pay cash surrender values even if it should stop selling new policies. But government insurance is in a different category, logically and legally. Because coverage is compulsory, the Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance Trust Funds, for example, can count on continuing premium revenues. Hence these government insurance programs need not pile up reserves comparable to those of private firms.

A few months before Mr. Day published his fears for the solvency of social security, the Eisenhower Administration issued the report of its Advisory Council on Social Security Financing, whose members included the chief actuary of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. We will give these gentlemen the last word on the adequacy of the OASDI Trust Funds:

"As contingency reserves, the assets of the trust funds are available, when needed, to supplement current receipts in periods when disbursements may temporarily rise above income. The Council believes the trust funds are and will continue to be larger than would be required for contingency purposes alone. Both the trust funds are expected to grow for many years and should remain well in excess of foreseeable contingency needs."

Is Russell Right?

In the First World War Bertrand Russell went to prison for his pacifist convictions. He supported World War II. And during the Russian blockade of Berlin, he was of the opinion that the United States (which then had a monopoly of atomic weapons) should drop "the bomb" on Moscow. Today, he is an ardent campaigner for unilateral nuclear disarmament of Britain. As he has said, the situation has changed. But has the situation changed as radically in other respects as Lord Russell's article in this week's *New Republic* suggests?

What evidence has the West been given that the Soviet leadership believes war has "outlived itself as a weapon of policy"? It has not yet demonstrated that belief in Laos. The USSR maintains a formidable nuclear striking force and a conventional military capacity in excess of the US. In his most recent speech on the subject of war, Mr. Khrushchev defends military intervention to further "national liberation" – that is to say, the rise to power of Communist Parties. We have no sign so far that the Russians will agree in advance to the kind of monitoring and inspection system without which no arms control treaty can commend confidence. And so for the creation of an international force to keep the peace, one need only recall Khrushchev's insistence on diminishing the effectiveness of the UN Secretariat as a guarantor of world order.

What facts, therefore, support Lord Russell's certainty that "the danger to mankind, while Russian policy remains what it is now, comes primarily not from Communist countries but from the military authorities of the US"? He refers specifically to Herman Kahn's book *On Thermonuclear War*, but however critical one might be of that book (and *The New Republic* has been critical) nowhere has Mr. Kahn suggested that nuclear war is desirable or inevitable. Kahn no doubt would agree with the Soviet Major General whose opinions Lord Russell cites approvingly, that to be for war is to adopt "a harmful and anti-humanitarian point of view." But what if this were not so? Herman Kahn is not the President, not the Secretary of Defense or State, not an official spokesman for anyone – even RAND Corporation. And to equate his opinions with those of the US is seriously to misunderstand.

Lord Russell may be right that "the antagonism which has produced the Cold War and the imminent danger of a hot war is not only insane and criminal, but, quite simply, silly." But are we to take it that the antagonism is frivolous, that no conflict of serious consequence is involved, that blame may be attached equally to all the antagonists, or that all parties can be scolded into sanity? And are the real disputes to be resolved by affirming the reasonableness of "the principle of coexistence"? One recalls John Maynard Keynes' reference to Bertrand Russell in his affectionate essay on life at Cambridge in the early part of the century: "Our comments on life and affairs were bright and amusing, but brittle . . . Bertie in particular sustained simultaneously a pair of opinions ludicrously incompatible. He held that in fact human affairs were carried on after a most irrational fashion, but that the remedy was quite simple and easy, since all we had to

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do was to carry them on rationally."

We know of few Americans who believe that the end of man would be a "smaller evil than the universal acceptance of Communism, and that, on this ground, methods of mass extermination are desirable." We know of fewer who think these are the only two practical alternatives. We know of no official who would disagree with Lord Russell that every effort must be made to bring nuclear weapons under some kind of multilateral control. The debate is over means. And the argument is not between a Soviet General and Herman Kahn over precisely how much would be destroyed by how many bombs, or whether war is or is not "desirable," but how real differences are going to be resolved – in Berlin, in the Congo, in Cuba, in Laos and in a great many other places on this fragmented planet.

The Dilemma of Business

The decision, the jail sentences, the fines and the disillusionment following the electrical machinery price collusion case in Philadelphia could mark the beginning of a new understanding of the economic and political issues involved if the actual conditions are frankly faced. This is much more vital than the passing, publicized settlements and new federal lawsuits against the price-fixers promised by the Attorney General.

We are obliged to begin, as Judge Ganey said in Philadelphia, with the conclusion that the chief officers of 21 corporations had guilty knowledge of "the vast conspiracy." After all, price control is a common practice in many industries. General Electric, the principal offender, has a long record of antitrust violations dating back 50 years. On an average of once every two years for half a century the Company has had some governmental action brought against it. The policy of violation is well established. Similar indictments, although not so regular or quite so often, have been brought against such other giants as General Motors, Dupont, AT&T, Westinghouse. There have been a number of convictions despite almost insurmountable obstacles the prosecution must overcome.

The plain fact is that the big corporations are caught in an impossible dilemma. On the one hand, they know from experience that unrestricted price competition is destructive and that if it actually prevailed markets could be disrupted, profits reduced or eliminated, and industrial instability result. They could, of course, crush smaller concerns because of their capital advantages but would in time be themselves broken up. When giants fight there is bloodshed.

Adam Smith is outdated in this modern age largely because fixed overhead has become a principal factor in total cost, and because corporations have swollen so big as to make our whole society dependent upon them. They simply refuse to take price chances wherever they can be avoided, often regardless of the law.

On the other hand, anything less than seemingly enthusiastic support of competition as a constructive force would be inevitably interpreted as an attack against Free Enterprise, so faithfully advocated and guarded by its honest believers and practitioners as well as by those who, being in positions of capital and market advantage, insist upon the license to charge and do as they please, free from all governmental interference or public controls of any kind, and regardless of inflation or any other harmful effects. What they really want are easy profits, assured, continuing and increasing.

So Big Business, preaching one thing and practicing its opposite, is obliged to pretend that it favors competition and the antitrust laws while it secretly opposes them, establishes uniform and administered prices, sets up barriers against the entry of new companies into its fields, stalls costly technological innovation and curtails production. Thus, otherwise respectable businessmen – the conforming bureaucrats in big corporations – become the carriers of misrepresentation and falsehoods and degrade themselves. They are victims of a dilemma most of them don't understand.

In about one-third of the national economy – an area that includes automobiles, steel, cigarettes, cement, oil products, chemicals, roofing materials, electric light bulbs and machinery – price competition has been eliminated by mutual understanding, legally or illegally, among the corporations represented. They have taken the position, in practice, that prices should be substantially uniform and profits so made secure.

Now, if the American public is ready to accept this condition then the only remaining question is who should fix the prices and what standards should be adopted. Shall we permit these and other private collusive interests themselves to decide what their "take" is to be? If so, then the laboring man should also be permitted to set his own wages.

Before pursuing this absurdity further, let us quickly say that obviously the public interest must come first, and it becomes the duty and responsibility of the people, acting through government, to set the prices which

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"Hi, Cousin – How Are Things at the Club?"

would otherwise be under private collusive control. The situation is not changed in the least by resorting to name calling – *i.e.* "Socialism." We would simply be recognizing the conditions brought about by Big Business over-reaching itself.

The government need not interfere in that two-thirds of the economy where honest price competition prevails. Every business concern could have a choice between the acceptance of maximum prices set by the government or prices set by competition without government regulation. Antitrust laws would be more strictly enforced. Uniform prices would require standard wage patterns, and a Federal Price and Wage Board would have to be established to supervise the regulation, as was done during the last war.

The public would, in effect, be saying to the monopolists and oligopolists: "As long as you insist upon uniform or controlled prices, we insist upon refusing you the right to set them. We would rather not have government intervene but you leave no alternative."

Members of a Price and Wage Board would be selected with the same care as Justices of the Supreme Court. They would have to be high-principled men more interested in service and honor than in accumulating material wealth. The Board would be a most important public body.

It becomes more apparent every day that powerful, giant, private corporations cannot safely continue to be treated as wholly private institutions. They have power over investment, output, employment, sales and wage policies that substantially affect the markets in which they deal, and therefore all of us whose lives are conditioned by those markets. Moreover, they aspire to an ever-increasing role in our educational and political lives, as so much of the subsidized literature demonstrates. They have made a captive of competition in many industries and are more controlling than they are controlled.

Their preeminent positions might be tolerable as long as the public could believe the corporation officials were more or less unselfish, public spirited, unusual men of the highest integrity. But this illusion has been shattered by excessive salaries paid to quite ordinary executives, by the stock option racket, high prices and by illegal and unethical conduct.

The country will be a long time recovering from the shock of the Philadelphia price collusion verdict. It served to dramatize to the general public what only a relatively few have long known concerning the unsavory practices of Big Business. They are by no means limited to the companies or the disclosures in that one case. All of us have in some measure been morally hurt. But it will not have been in vain if we can now get on with the business of bringing the freebooters under public control and striking at the sources of the evil. Let us give more support to the Department of Justice and to the Senate and House antitrust committees under the able chairmanships of Representative Celler of New York and Senator Kefauver of Tennessee. These men have nobly struggled against handicaps that would have discouraged lesser men.

In addition to the establishment of a Price and Wage Board, we should now reconsider such proposals as public representation on the boards of directors of the biggest corporations, which by the very nature and size of their operations and ownership are quasi-public organizations. A tax on corporation profits graduated upward, instead of the present flat 52 percent tax, would discourage the trend toward even bigger private institutions, which is proceeding by leaps and bounds – and not for reasons of increased efficiency, as is so commonly misrepresented, but to secure more financial and marketing power. This undemocratic authority is bankrupting small business and has become so great that it threatens the continuance of our freedoms, especially when it becomes further concentrated as it is now in a handful of bankers acting as trustees for equity funds with controlling interests in all the giant corporations.

T. K. QUINN

MR. QUINN *was the first chairman of the board of the General Electric Finance Corporation and is the author of* Giant Business: Threat to Democracy.

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Diversity Is Not Dead

A Report on Our Widening Range of Choice

by Herbert J. Gans

Educated Americans are eager customers for national self-analysis, especially for studies which compare the present unfavorably to the past. They flock to writers like Vance Packard, who see America in the throes of a decline in individualism, thrift, culture and other long-prized virtues.

One of the favorite topics of the decline-and-fall school of social analysis is the homogenization of American life. Once upon a time, the story goes, America was rich in its variety; but today it is a society of middle-class conformists: men and women are increasingly less distinguishable puppets who do the bidding of Hollywood, Madison Avenue – and their children.

There is some truth to this image; some of the past founts of diversity are drying up, notably *regional economies* and *ethnic subcultures*. But there are other diversifying influences, some of equally long standing, and of these the most significant is *class*. Whatever the pros and cons of economic and social stratification, class differences today provide the single most important source of diversity in American life.

Before the advent of mass production, ways of living and making a living in America were closely tied to the natural resources and to the geographical characteristics of the environment. Moreover, communication and trade were limited by natural barriers, and by the lack of transportation facilities. As a result, variations in the country's geography created a set of relatively isolated regions, each with a distinctive economy and social structure. These regions produced what either the land or its tenants could grow best, what could be manufactured from resources within the earth, and what could be marketed. In the first century of American life, the regions were almost self-sufficient; later they specialized in contributing distinctive products to the national economy. Textiles and hard goods came from the East; grain and iron from the Midwest; cattle from the Far West, and cotton from the South.

But modern industrialization obliterated the historical tie between geography and economy; modern forms of transportation eliminated the boundaries between regions; and mass production did away with much regional product specialization and with differences in methods. The assembly line moves without respect for regional differences in craftsmanship, and even industrialized farming is much the same whether the crop is lettuce or cotton. Service occupations, which today employ more people than farming or manufacturing, require no raw materials. They are not subject to regional variation.

Today, then, regions are simply sectors of a national economy, and the regional economic differences that remain are due primarily to differences in rates of growth or decline. The Far West differs from the Northeast more because of the speed of its recent economic development than because of its products. Only areas like Texas, and the Minnesota or Western mining regions remain somewhat distinctive because of the raw materials they contribute to the economy.

The social systems and ways of life which were nurtured by the regional economies – and by the isolation of regions from each other – are also disappearing, though at a less rapid rate. A New England merchant and manufacturing aristocracy is still with us, but its economic and political power – and its prestige – are much reduced. The family farm continues to symbolize the Midwest, but it loses most of its young people to the cities. Even the Southern feudal system, which has outlived most of its regional peers, is now definitely on the way out. Differences in geography and climate continue to affect the tempo of life, the remainders of old traditions persist in everyday routines, and small towns still hesitate for many years before they admit newcomers to the inner social circle. But these are minor; the mobile employees of the large corporations need no cultural retraining when they are transferred from one region to another.

The decline of regionalism was already under way when the great European immigration of the late 19th Century began. The ethnic cultures of Catholic peasants and Jewish artisans and shopkeepers introduced a new and highly visible diversity to American life, and transformed the cities overnight. But these cultures began to disappear almost immediately; their lan-

HERBERT J. GANS *is a sociologist with the Institute for Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.*

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guages, ethnic organizations, newspapers and arts lasted barely into the second generation. American versions of these institutions took their place, especially among the Jews, and less visible social arrangements (such as the clan-like extended family system of the Eastern and Southern European migrants) have survived in attenuated form. The Southern Negroes and Puerto Ricans who replaced the immigrants added little new ethnic diversity. The plantations from which they came had permitted them only minimal ways of life, and these fall by the wayside even more quickly than peasant traditions.

What I wish to emphasize is that the visible diversity of regional economies and ethnic groups overshadowed the class differences that resulted from different incomes, occupations and educational opportunities, and that class differences were usually greater than those based on regional factors. Indeed, equally placed classes lived in much the same way everywhere.

Thus, the families of Southern plantation owners and New England merchants had little in common with their own employees, but much in common with each other: wives devoted to charitable activities and conspicuous consumption; sons trained to continue the family enterprise or to enter the law, the ministry or the services; and daughters taught to choose husbands who would maintain the family status, and possibly aid its business fortunes. Likewise, farm families in one region differed little from those in others. The poorest lived a marginal existence that often did not permit family life. This was true on Western ranches, in the New England textile mills and the plantations; and later, in the mines, the stockyards and on the railroad gangs as well.

Class had much the same effect among ethnic groups. Working-class Poles, Italians and Irish lived in much the same way – and in the same tenements – even though they spoke different languages and ate different foods. They had more in common with each other than with their kind who had become middle class; as in the case of the lace-curtain and shanty Irish.

The role of class is most clearly illustrated by the considerable difference between the Jews and others who came to America at the same time. As Nathan Glazer has shown, the Jews have been an urban middle-class people for several centuries, and even though the immigrants worked in sweatshops or small retail stores, they sent their children to college and into the professions. Meanwhile, the children of the peasant immigrants were expected to leave school as early as possible in order to contribute to the family income.

The diversifying function of class has not changed significantly in our era. The class system has virtually become uniform the nation over, and changes have taken place in the nature of the classes. In the 19th Century, and until the Great Depression, occupation and income were the two most important determinants of class position, and of the ways of life associated with each class. The traditional division of American society into lower, middle and upper classes reflected the differences between blue collar, white collar and managerial or professional occupations and incomes. Today, these divisions have less meaning. The skilled worker is able to live like a white collar one, at least in good times. The differences between white collar and professional work have been blurred by the professionalization – real or spurious – of many occupations, and the demand for professionals and managers has been so great that it can no longer be filled from the upper class alone.

Ever-growing specialization has increased the significance of education – or at least of the diploma and the degree – as a prerequisite for employment and as a mark of occupational status. Moreover, in a changing society, the habits and the wisdom which one generation passes on to its offspring are often anachronistic. Other institutions, such as the school, attempt to provide more up-to-date solutions, and thus become more influential in shaping work, play, family life and community participation. Today and in the future, the amount and type of education obtained by parents, and aspired to for their children will increasingly distinguish the classes from each other – assuming of course that the economic opportunity to achieve the aspirations is available. Education will probably be – after income – the most important source of diversity.

Education and Variety

When we come to family life, education is likely to play an especially significant role. In an agrarian society, the family is usually the basic economic unit. Its members all have specific duties, which help to assure the family's survival and also hold it together as a social unit. But in an industrial society, the family is no longer an economic unit; either the man supports it alone, or family members work wherever they can find employment. Consequently, if the family is to be a meaningful social unit, other joint activities – aside from the universal sexual, procreative and child-rearing ones – take the place of economic ones. A review of present family life will illustrate how education provides a basis for joint activities, and for diversity.

When education is minimal, as in the working class, joint activities are absent. Husband, wife and children live under the same roof, and although love and affection are exchanged, there is little close communication in the cultural or intellectual sense. The few years of elementary school education have had little effect on the peasant tradition, which trained family members to associate with their own peers but made them unable to

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communicate effectively across age and sex barriers. If there is a family circle, it is segregated sexually and chronologically; the men spend their non-work hours with male relatives; the women with female ones. When there is no family circle, the men congregate at clubs and taverns; the women, at the neighbors. The absence of close communication between the sexes extends even to the most intimate relationships; working-class sexual life is often a case of the husband taking his pleasure without knowing or caring to know the wife's wishes and feelings – and these are frequently based on disinterest or resignation.

Parent-child relationships are marked by a similar communication gap. The working-class family is *adult-centered;* that is, family life revolves around the adults' preferences. Activities which benefit only the children are rare, and there is little of the self-conscious deliberate child-rearing that is so important in the middle class. Children are expected to act like miniature adults at home, and as a result, they spend most of their time away from home. Only on the street and in their clubs can they really behave like children.

The school was traditionally expected to draw children away from working-class culture, but it often failed to do so because the child was not encouraged to learn at home. Today, the decline in unskilled work has dispelled the parental lack of interest in education, and an ever larger proportion of working-class families now urge their children to finish high school. However, the parents' inability to communicate with their children, and the failure of the schools to cope with their working-class students maintain the drop-out rate at levels higher than justified by economic conditions. In the Negro community, the situation is complicated by financial need, and the lack of family communication is compounded by the widespread existence of households without husbands.

Middle-class family structure is quite different. The larger family circle is either totally absent or limited to occasional Sunday afternoon get-togethers. As a result, husband, wife and children are more dependent on each other for affection and companionship.

In the lower middle class of the present generation, husband and wife are likely to have gone through high school, perhaps even to the same one. This shared background helps them to communicate with each other, and creates some common interests, although much spare time is still spent with peers of the same sex. The most easily shared interest is the children, and the parents communicate best with each other through joint child-rearing. This family is clearly *child-centered.* Parents play with their children – which is rare in the working class – rear them with some degree of self-consciousness, and give up many of their adult pleasures for them. Family size is strongly influenced by educational aspirations. If the parents are satisfied with their own occupational and social status, and feel no great urgency to send their children to college, they may have as many children as possible, for each one adds to their shared pleasures, and to family unity – at least while the children are young. Parents who dream of college think primarily of sending the boys. Even so, the home life, and the companions to which they expose their offspring do not always create the motivation or the intellectual ability for further education.

College-Trained Parents

Among college-educated parents who are usually found in the middle and upper middle class, education and educational aspirations shape family life. (This is creating a gap between the college-educated population and the rest of society which replaces the earlier gap between blue and white collar workers.) Higher education adds immeasurably to the number of common interests, including activities other than child-rearing. Consequently, these parents are not as child-centered as lower middle class ones. Family life is *adult-directed;* child-rearing gives more priority to what the parents think is desirable than to what the children themselves want. Educated parents devote much time and effort to assuring their children's education. They limit the size of their families for this purpose; they choose their place of residence more by the quality of the local school system than other people; they ride herd on the school authorities to meet their standards; and of course they exert considerable pressure on their children to do well in school.

I have, of course, oversimplified and overemphasized the independent role of education as a lever of social change, and I have neglected the potent influence of other sources of diversity. Income remains the single most important factor, for lack of money discourages not only the achievement of aspirations, but also the incentive to seek aspirations, and the perseverance to pursue them. Regional variations in economic vitality affect the amount of opportunity for educational and occupational mobility, especially for people outside the middle class. Minor and sometimes subtle differences in family relationships and child-rearing methods still exist among ethnic groups, regional subcultures and between people from urban and small town or farm backgrounds. Moreover, the increasing amount of intermarriage between ethnic and religious groups, and between mobile people from different regions – coupled with the increasing ability of family members to communicate with each other, and to develop new joint aspirations – is likely to result in important, though poorly visible, kinds of diversities in family life.

Yet the impact of education makes itself felt throughout American society. For example, since most people no longer live in the neighborhoods in which

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they work, class distinctions in the residential community are based increasingly on educational differences, as well as on consumer behavior patterns, taste and leisure activity preferences which follow in their wake. Community life itself is increasingly structured by educational differences, especially in the suburbs. Social and cultural organizations frequently recruit on the basis of educational background – although not openly or even intentionally so – and by whether the members want to continue to improve themselves or not. Neighborhood conflicts over child discipline and community deliberations about juvenile delinquency and teenage recreation programs continually reflect class differences of opinion about how children should be reared, and how much adult standards and adult supervision should guide their lives. The diversity of educational aspirations appears most clearly in bitterly fought tax battles, which usually pit parents who want a school system that will prepare their children for college against neighbors who want or need to give lower priority to educational expenditures.

This diversifying role of education is likely to become more significant. Already, sociological studies show that education is becoming the most important variable – aside from income – in explaining differences in behavior, attitudes and taste. Art theaters, off-Broadway, summer stock, foreign travel, the mass marketing of contemporary design, etc., are a direct result of the new tastes spawned by rising college enrollment. As college attendance becomes a median rather than a minority statistic, diversity will be measured not by amount of education, but by the *type* of college one attended. There are many kinds of colleges and universities, each of which prepares its students somewhat differently for work, family life, leisure and community participation, if not in the classroom then in dormitories and extra-curricular activities. The extent to which this variety persists – and hopefully, multiplies – is likely to determine the amount of diversity in the middle class of the future.

Are We Becoming Homogenized?

Given the existence of these diversities in the family – and in other sectors of American life as well – why do we hear so much about the danger of everybody's becoming alike – of homogenization? I think there are three reasons. First, diversity is usually measured by the amount of regionalism and ethnicity, and their decline can easily lead to the impression that all diversity is therefore on the wane. Moreover, class was for a long time an uncomfortable topic, and the relationship between class differences and diversity has not been explored sufficiently.

Finally, the frame of reference used in evaluating recent social change results in a narrow perspective. Those who fear homogenization look at society from the point of view of *culture*. They study America as they do works of art; they evaluate it by how and what it contributes to a cultural record called civilization.

This perspective may be compared to that of a tourist. The tourist is on vacation; he seeks variety and esthetic pleasure in the physical and human landscape, but he is little concerned with the functioning or the everyday problems of the society he is visiting. Nor does he participate in that society, except with the detachment of the visitor. Consequently, the slum that is odoriferous at home may become exotic abroad, and backward agricultural practices are seen as culturally valuable expressions of tradition and the simple life. But one does not need to go abroad to adopt this perspective. The upper-class observer in America – and many of our critics and observers have come from, or adopted this class – often expects America itself to provide him with ways of life which are varied, esthetically satisfying and culturally different from his own.

By such criteria, the ethnic and regional subcultures were highly desirable. When New England villages are overwhelmed by suburban subdivisions, and Italian or Jewish street markets are replaced by chain-store shopping centers, the landscape is undoubtedly denuded, and no one feels it more than the detached observer.

But the cultural perspective gives only half the picture. Society is not only a landscape, and it cannot be judged on esthetic grounds alone. Social change must also be seen from the point of view of *people;* especially those people whose lives and aspirations are the raw material of that change.

From this perspective, the patterns of family life I have been describing do not represent a decline in diversity, but just the opposite. For the ancestors of the present middle classes and the upper level of the working class, neither regionalism nor ethnicity were an unmixed blessing. The former often meant an involuntary adaptation to conditions over which people had no control; the latter, a set of traditional ways which were frequently inappropriate for the economic and social situations with which they had to deal in America. Many – and perhaps even the majority – of the people who are now at or just below the median in income, occupational status and education have been liberated economically, culturally and politically by the social changes that accompanied modern industrialization and led to the decline of regional and ethnic differences. Their present situation is hardly perfect, but it represents a vast improvement over the past.

To paraphrase Nelson Foote, much of the declining diversity was based on *tradition* and on *constraint;* much of the present diversity is a result of the enlargement of *choice*. (Nelson Foote, Janet Abu-Lughod, Mary Foley and Louis Winnick, *Housing Choices and Constraints,* McGraw-Hill, 1960.) Americans of all

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classes – except perhaps the upper class – have more opportunity than their ancestors to make choices, in family life and in most other areas. The woman who bore nine children a generation or two ago rarely did so by choice. Having children was her traditional role, even though it meant exhaustion, ill health and probably a short life-span. Moreover, the nature of her marital relationship was such that she had little say in the matter. The woman who bears children today is able to choose, and because of her equal status, and her ability to communicate with her husband, she can plan the size of the family with him.

The Wider Range of Choice

From a cultural perspective, the choices which result are often similar. It is therefore easy to jump to the conclusion that these are being made by people motivated by conformity, even though in actual fact the choices represent fairly thoughtful compromises between aspirations and opportunities. Young middle-class couples today choose to have two to three children if they want them to have a college education; three or four if they place more value on their pleasures in child-rearing, and less on education. Consequently, the over-all statistics show that Americans as a whole generally have two to four children, and that few have the large families common in the past. But the dissatisfaction of the observer who yearns for a wider range of family size is surely matched, and overridden, by the increased satisfaction of those who now have some control over their destiny. Choices that are wise for individuals do not always serve the public interest. Nor does choice-making eliminate problems; greater awareness of alternatives may even increase them for some people. But the fact that the proportion of bachelors and spinsters is declining sharply suggests that American family life is more attractive now than it was in the past.

I can illustrate the change in type of diversity by another example. The extension of equality to women has been viewed by some as the incipient homogenization of the sexes. From the cultural perspective, the greater equality of the marriage partners may appear as sameness, but there is no evidence that men are becoming socially or physiologically more effeminate; or women, more masculine. Indeed, the opposite is true; women who want careers no longer need to have masculine drives in order to succeed. Although middle-class husbands who wash dishes and diapers to help their wives may reduce some of the cultural diversity between the sexes that prevailed when women were second-class citizens, new kinds of diversity are created because women are now able to choose from a wider range of activities.

The old diversity encouraged cultural variety; the new diversity enhances *individual difference*.

There is a fourth reason for the fear of homogenization, which reflects anxieties over the future of high culture. The new way of life in America rests on a mass base, and its cultural forms express low- or middle-brow tastes. These cultural forms have grown rapidly in the last 30 years, because the lower middle and working-class population has achieved the wherewithal to express its preferences for cultural goods and ideas on a market place previously reserved for the upper middle and upper classes. Moreover, the growth of commercial and private popular culture has wiped out the ethnic and regional folk cultures for which high culture advocates have always had considerable affection. Since the new diversity is democratic, allowing the rank-and-file members of society to make choices at all taste-levels and – partly by sheer weight of numbers in the cultural market place – to question the prestige and power of high culture, it is seen by some as a threat to high culture.

There can be no doubt that the power and prestige of high culture *has* declined in the 20th Century, but decline is qualitatively different from disappearance, and the decline does not represent a threat to its existence. In fact, respect for high culture increases as educational levels rise, and imitation *is* a form of flattery, however discomforting its results. American society is open enough to provide room for all cultures, and wealthy enough to support them as well.

The ideal solution is diversity at all levels of taste, and we shall not achieve it by mourning a past which cannot be brought back to life, or by deprecating the new kinds of diversity as homogeneity. I believe that Americans are seeking to expand their newly-found ability to make choices and that this expansion should be encouraged by all means possible. If wider opportunities for a truly liberal education can be made available, the ability to make choices is likely to improve, and this in turn promises to stimulate additional diversity, social as well as cultural, in the years to come.

COMING: *Alvin H. Hansen, author of "Economic Issues of the 1960's," discusses automation and the welfare state*

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The Horny-Handed

The Administration farm program involves economic questions, constitutional questions and political questions too difficult for a superficial observer even to approach; but the program, as entitled in the press has one defect glaringly apparent even to a by-stander with no inside information whatever. This is its failure to define its basic term. What is a farmer?

Yet it is clear that the ancient stereotype no longer corresponds to reality. The horny-handed son of toil whose labor produces the foods and fibres that sustain civilization was a reasonably realistic portrayal of the typical American farmer in Thomas Jefferson's day and for a long time thereafter; but there is simply no way of adjusting that picture to make it resemble an outfit that draws $800,000 from the government for a cotton crop that might bring $500,000 on the open market. The horny-handed son of toil never dealt in such figures. To draw $80 for $50 worth of cotton would be nearer his speed.

Nevertheless, it is on the basis of the stereotype that the farm program – any farm program – is sold to the American taxpayer. Agriculture is the foundation upon which society rests. The stability of the whole structure is threatened when cultivation of the soil no longer yields a livelihood to the cultivator; hence it is to the interest of society to see that production of the articles necessary to sustain life shall be rewarded well enough to attract to that occupation a sufficient number of workers. If this cannot be accomplished through the ordinary operations of the market, then it must be done in some other way, if necessary by direct subsidy.

This is the conclusive argument for governmental intervention when the farmer's utmost efforts can no longer provide a decent livelihood for himself and his family. But there is another, based on history rather than logic, but which appeals powerfully to Americans. It is the fact that

once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world;

which is to say, it was out of the agrarian way of life that this republic rose. Whatever in it that is fine, whatever is solid and enduring, whatever it cherishes of honor and glory, were elements contributed largely by agrarians for the simple reason that in the beginning 90 percent of us were farmers and more than half were still farmers at the beginning of this century. It was the American farmer who rose to greatness, because there was nobody else to rise. Hence the wide opinion that to preserve farming not merely as the foundation of the economy, but as a way of life is almost a sacred duty.

But is this any longer true if it ever was? Application of mechanized power, backed by scientific discovery, to agriculture has enormously increased production and at the same time eliminated the need of man-power so sharply that our farming population has fallen from 90 to somewhat less than 11 percent. Obviously, farming is not what it used to be; and it follows that its claim upon society is not what it was.

It does not follow that it has no claim at all. Its status as the basis of the whole national economy is not affected by the change in its operational methods; but the responsibility of the government is inevitably affected. There is no way of proving or disproving Jefferson's theory that contact with the soil tends to develop characteristics of great social and political value. But in the highly mechanized operations of the modern farming corporation it is the machine, not the man, that comes into intimate contact with the soil. The man is in contact with the machine, and it is a reasonable supposition that such contact tends to develop a grease-monkey more often than a Crèvecoeur.

At any rate, this phase of the situation ought to be taken into account in the formulation of a farm policy, and there is little evidence that it has been given much attention in the program now before Congress. If there is a way of life that is worth preserving at whatever cost, it is the way of life of what was called the one-horse farmer in the dear, dead days when there were horses on farms. It is not the way of life of the corporation executive whose genius is exhibited in devising ways to take advantage of the law in such a way as to get $800,000 for $500,000 worth of cotton – or comparable values in wheat, corn, tobacco, or some other farm product.

In view of our national history no American need blush for harboring a tender spot for the horny-handed son of toil. He is or he has been in the past a mighty man of valor, and if the complexities of modern economics threaten to squeeze him to death, a few hundred million spent to rescue him will not ruin us. But we should make very sure that our money goes to rescue him, not to swell the profits of some huge corporation about as closely related to a one-horse farmer as the General Electric Company is to a telephone lineman.

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Thermonuclear War: Battle of the Experts

by Bertrand Russell

Two armament experts, one American, the other Russian, have lately set forth statements of policy: in the case of the Russian, clearly official; in the case of the American, such as some authorities are recommending to the Kennedy Administration. While reading their pronouncements, I imagined myself a member of one of the newly emancipated nations and I was considerably disquieted by the thoughts which the two pronouncements were likely to generate in such a reader.

The American is Herman Kahn, whose large book, *On Thermonuclear War*, deserves careful study. I should like to say that there are things in his book with which I find myself in agreement. For example, he holds that neutrality on the part of West European Powers is reasonable, since they add nothing to America's strength and cannot be effectively protected by America. He also expresses approval of the British Labour Party's proposal of a non-nuclear club of which Britain should be a member, supplemented, as it was not in Mr. Gaitskell's proposal, by cessation of membership of NATO. But, when it comes to what America should do, I can find almost nothing that seems to me compatible with rationality. Mr. Kahn admits that there are objective reasons for thinking that a thermonuclear war may occur, and he does not, so far as I have been able to discover, favor any US policy which would make such a war less probable. He points out that conflicts analagous to the present cold war conflict are hardly ever settled amicably and he states explicitly that there are not improbable circumstances in which a nuclear war would be "rational." He concedes that we cannot tell what would happen in such a war and that the world would perhaps never recover, but he makes somewhat unconvincing attempts to persuade the reader that war would not be as catastrophic as many of us think. He believes that the genetic effects will only produce 10 million defective children, and he believes that the number of deaths in a thermonuclear war can be immensely reduced by the provision of shelters in cities, on which he urges the US Government to spend $30 billion. Given this amount of expenditure, he offers us somewhat pallid consolation: he says that, if the US can get through the first three months and adequately decontaminate the workers, there will be a reasonable chance of survival, but he is not at all confident that these conditions will be fulfilled. He attempts to arrive at arithmetical estimates of the degree of damage which the US Government ought to find, what he amusingly calls, "acceptable." His limits, however, are somewhat wide and vague. He says that 200 million deaths would be "acceptable," but not 2 billion. Now and again, he surprisingly lapses into sentimentality – for example, when he says that it might be right for America to fight to the last man, but not to the last woman and child. He does not pretend that a hot war would be advocated as a defense of freedom. He says that during and immediately after a thermonuclear war, "all remaining sources would be commandered and shared without owner-identity in collective misery (one might say 'disaster socialism')." He says that after such a war, "life is going to be stark, elemental, brutal, filthy and miserable."

In one place, he suggests recovery in 10,000 years; in another, he suggests recovery in 10 years. He nowhere discusses what will happen if his more optimistic prophecies come true. It is surely obvious, though Mr. Kahn does not say so, that if America persists in the attitudes that will have produced the first thermonuclear war, recovery will only lead to preparations for another. If a second thermonuclear war is to be avoided, it will have to be by the adoption of policies which might just as well be adopted now. If, on the other hand, those who agree with Mr. Kahn remain in control, thermonuclear wars will succeed each other until there is nobody left to fight them. This is a bleak and cheerless outlook, but it is the best that Mr. Kahn can offer us even by stretching optimism to the very limits of credibility. Nowhere in this long book does he consider the possibility which would prevent a thermonuclear war by the ending of the cold war. The more or less tacit assumption upon which his whole discussion is based is that Russia will launch a surprise attack upon the US at any moment when it seems likely that such an attack might lead to victory. He does not produce any evidence pointing to such a conclusion, and, in fact, as I shall argue shortly, all the evidence is to the contrary.

Major General Talenski, in an article called "The Character of Modern War" (first published in *International Affairs*, Moscow, 1960), expresses Soviet official policy in a way intended to appeal to Russian public opinion. He is quite astonishingly different from Mr. Kahn in his outlook and his hopes. 15,000 bombs, he estimates, would "destroy everything living and non-living in the territory of Europe, including moun-

On Thermonuclear War, by Herman Kahn (Princeton; $8.50) has already been the subject of considerable discussion in *The New Republic:* in the article, "The Game of War," by Robert Paul Wolff (February 20); in a review, "Beyond the Balance of Terror," by Fred Greene (February 27); and in Bertrand Russell's piece on "Unilateralism" (March 6). An essay-review by Mr. Kahn himself will appear in a forthcoming issue.

General Talenski's article, "The Character of Modern War," is available to American readers in the current issue of the new magazine, *Atlas*.

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tains, forests and tundra." But, if mountains, forests and tundra are allowed to survive, and only the destruction of human life is aimed at, a much smaller number of bombs would suffice. He estimates that to wipe out the US (excepting Alaska) from the face of the earth would require about 850 H-bombs. In more densely populated countries, a few tens of H-bombs would suffice. All these estimates are based upon statements either made by Western authorities or accepted by them. He points out that radioactive fallout will threaten not only belligerents, but all human beings; and he concludes, "not to see the danger of a nuclear rocket war is harmful, but to see and underestimate it is criminal." Assuming, as patriotism compels him to do, that the West would be more completely defeated than the East, he still holds that a war would not be justified. To justify it, he says, "would be a harmful and anti-humanitarian point of view."

Major General Talenski does not seek ways of making such lawful destruction "acceptable," but, rather, looks to disarmament agreements to remove from the world the threat of thermonuclear war. "War in the military-technical sense has out-lived itself as a weapon of policy." We must, he concludes, "struggle even more stubbornly and consistently for the destruction of all armaments, for the exclusion of war from the life of human society, for peace in the whole world."

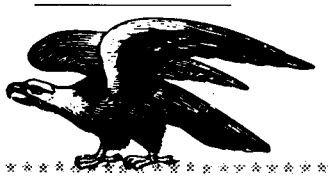
I do not think that any candid reader can doubt General Talenski's sincerity or fail to see that his arguments aim at persuading Russians and Chinese. Further, I think we should all acknowledge that the West will be fortunate if the East accepts his advice, provided that the West, or rather those who have power in the West, are persuaded that peace is preferable to the results of a thermonuclear war. The danger to mankind, while Russian policy remains what it is now, comes primarily, not from Communist countries, but from the military authorities of the US. (This is perhaps a temporary situation, since Khrushchev may fall.) For American policy is doing what it can to persuade Russians that Khrushchev's hopes for peaceful coexistence are vain. We must hope that these efforts will fail, but, as things are, the hope can not be a very confident one.

To anybody not obsessed by either Communist or anti-Communist fanaticism, it must be obvious that the antagonism which has produced the cold war and the imminent danger of a hot war is not only insane and criminal, but quite simply, silly. The interests of both East and West can only be furthered by a genuine and wholehearted acceptance of the principle of coexistence. Both East and West are spending vast sums on armaments, and the West, if not the East, is proposing to increase these sums indefinitely. The only "good" that either side can derive from these armaments is injury to the "enemy." Not the faintest benefit to itself is in any degree possible, and with every advance in technique the disaster to be expected in a nuclear war is increased. Each side excuses itself by maintaining that the other side wants world dominion by military conquest rather than by peaceful propaganda.

It is true that Russian and Chinese Communists often express the hope that, in time, the whole world will become convinced of the benefits of Communism, not in the shape of Russian domination, but by the ordinary processes of internal politics. This hope is exactly analogous to the hope of Christian missionaries that their preaching will in time convert the whole world to Christianity. I cannot see that either of these hopes has any rational basis. There is, it is true, a fanatical opinion which is not uncommon in the West. This is the opinion that end of Man would be a smaller evil than the universal acceptance of Communism, and that, on this ground, methods of mass extermination are desirable. But if this view continues to govern US policy the outlook for the world is black.

So firmly is it believed by dominant opinion in the West that Communists intend to conquer the world and will succeed if not opposed by military force, that anyone who allows himself to suggest means by which the death before the end of the present century of all members of Western countries can be avoided is regarded as a traitor. It seems that the Soviet Government has become aware that Communist countries have more to fear from the hostility between East and West than from the peaceful survival of capitalist countries. There are those in the West who have realized the correlative truth that Western countries could be far happier if they lived in amity with the Communist world than they can ever be while the present hostility continues. But, unfortunately, the military authorities are able whenever they choose to cause a crisis which will prevent relaxation of tension. They proved their power in the U-2 incident, and I fear they may give us many new proofs that they can prevent any whisper of sanity from influencing policy.

But for the destructive character of modern armaments, there is nothing new in this situation. Christianity and Islam believed for a thousand years that peaceful coexistence was impossible. At the end of a millenium of war, both sides realized that it had been a millenium of folly. Unfortunately, modern weapons have made it impossible for the human race to survive a thousand years of war. We now have to learn more quickly, or perish. Russia is learning. Will the United States learn in time? Or will Mr. Kahn and his friends put an end to the human species? No one knows.



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The Goal of the Affluent Society

by Robert Lekachman

Relatively esoteric arguments about American and Russian growth-rates were features of the last political campaign. Our unpleasantly high rate of unemployment reminds us daily that something has gone awry in American arrangements for the use of our machines and their attendants. What Leonard Silk's skillfully written volume

The Research Revolution
by Leonard S. Silk
(McGraw-Hill; $4.95)

adds to the debate is an emphasis on a central element in the growth process and a prescription for economic progress. In its outlines, his argument is simple and direct. Investment is the major stimulus to economic growth. The autonomous investment beloved of economists is caused by new processes, new devices, and new products. These stimulate businessmen to construct factories, equip them, and create the markets for the products which flow from them. Basic to these novelties is fresh knowledge. And – the hub of tale – research is the organized mode of accelerating the creation of this fresh knowledge. In this, the latest stage in the history of invention, the products of basic research in countless, unexpected, practical applications are transforming daily life.

According to Mr. Silk, we have a research revolution because so many American businessmen have come to understand that profit depends upon systematic research and application. Accordingly, business spending on research has soared and the trend is still upward. Mr. Silk rubs the point in with an enlightening case study of how Bell Laboratories explored the basic scientific principles which ultimately made possible the translator.

In itself research is not a panacea. The general economic climate, the tax system, and the patent laws influence the size and shape of investment. Nevertheless, for Americans especially, Mr. Silk's emphasis upon that intangible, human knowledge, is salutary. Economists of all nationalities were astonished at the German and Russian recoveries after World War II. They would have been less astonished if they had more adequately identified the strategic role of intelligence and its capacity to employ the stock of knowledge to repair material devastation.

After the fashion of the first-class economic journalist, the questions that Mr. Silk evokes are as important as the suggestions to solution that he offers. Space allows consideration only of one of the most important. Many have argued that the goals of an affluent society should shift from quantity to quality. A higher quality of human experience depends rather little on new products and very much on more discriminating education, wider distribution of books, phonograph records, and pictures, more frequent travel, improved health care, and renewal of city life as an aesthetic experience. Thus far the research revolution has done very well with power steering, power brakes, transistor radios, and electric percolators. Where the product is less tangible and less susceptible to immediate commercial promotion, the record is more modest. The criterion of profit is an uncertain guide to the social usefulness of innovation. When our enterprising companies tempt scientists away from their campuses, there is a legitimate question whether human knowledge will be advanced as rapidly. It may be that science is too important and scientists too scarce to encourage the patronage of even the most enlightened of our merchants and manufacturers.

Ontario's Public Power Experiment

by Ernest Gruening

Whenever Canadian-United States relations are mentioned, we hear paeans about the unique 4,400-mile undefended boundary and the Rush-Bagot Treaty. What better proofs of an ideal international relationship! So it is a bit anomalous that relatively little information about what goes on in each of these two neighboring countries is

The People's Power
by Merrill Denison
(McClelland & Stewart; $7.50)

transmitted from one to the other by their press. In the dailies of cities close to the border – Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle – one finds virtually no mention of events transpiring just a few miles to the north in Canada. The same is true in reverse of the newspapers published in such cities as Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal.

Perhaps better news-exchange would aid in remedying some of the disagreements and tensions which have arisen to mar a long-assumed harmony and understanding. For example, one of the most outstanding achievements of Canada about which we should be informed is the extensive development of hydroelectric power in the Province of Ontario, which is treated definitively in this masterful book.

Denison is not only a gifted writer, but a competent economic historian. The important relevance of his authoritative and highly readable story to us is that the struggles which the advocates of hydroelectric power face in this country were faced and overcome in Ontario.

Hydro (as it is known) is one of the most successful enterprises in the

A SACRIFICED AUTHOR

Father, he said, after the critics' chewing,
Forgive them, for they know not what I'm doing.

—one of five "gnomes" by Howard Nemerov in the spring issue of The Carleton Miscellany. Other contributors: John Dos Passos, Charles C. Gillespie, Arthur Mizener, Thom Gunn, Philip Booth.

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world. At its inception early in the century, it faced bitter opposition similar to that later encountered by our Tennessee Valley Authority and which, in the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration, was renewed to obstruct continuation of the enlightened power policies initiated by Senator Norris and President Roosevelt and continued under President Truman. The failure to secure a government-constructed high dam on the Snake River at Idaho because of the controlling influence in the last administration of privately-owned public utilities (which resulted in giving instead to the people of the Northwest three small dams which will produce half the power at twice the cost, with no provision for irrigation or flood control) has imposed an enduring economic burden upon us all.

Mr. Denison traces the beginnings of Ontario Hydro to the present service to 99 percent of all homes, at cost, and a phenomenal per capita consumption of electricity in 1959 of just under 6,000 kilowatt hours. This compares with an average of 4,500 in the United States and 2,100 in the United Kingdom. A concomitant benefit, and not an incidental one, is that the standard of living of the people of Ontario Province has gone up some 60 percent in the last two decades – an average of 18.5 percent higher than the national Canadian average. One out of every two emigrants to Canada settles in Ontario, and about 50 percent of all Canadian industry is located there.

The applicability of Hydro's great success to the US is not hard to see. At present, studies are being made to harness the Yukon in Alaska at the Rampart Canyon. If constructed, this dam will be larger than any in North America – nearly 5 million kilowatts – or 2.5 times the capacity of Grand Coulee, and supply Alaska – with current at 2 mills a kilowatt hour. Small wonder that the same forces that operated to the detriment of the Northwest and to the nation on the Snake River have opened fire on this enterprise.

Indeed, a high-powered and costly publicity campaign against all public power has, for some years, been under way – a repetition of the campaign organized by Samuel Insull 40 years ago which was devastatingly exposed by the Federal Trade Commission just prior to the collapse of his and other utility empires. Today, scarcely an issue of our nationally circulated magazines lacks a full-page advertisement proclaiming public power as socialistic and a burden on the American taxpayer. Canned editorials and cartoons on the same theme are being furnished the small-town dailies and weeklies. This, and much else, charged off as part of the privately-owned utilities' operating costs, is reflected in higher rates to the consumer.

The People's Power, therefore is not only extremely interesting history, but can be recommended to all those interested in resource development and in the lifting of our economic levels by fuller exploitation of our still largely unused hydroelectric potential.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell *will be published later this month by Simon and Schuster.* Robert Lekachman *is on the economics faculty at Barnard College.* Ernest Gruening *is US Senator from Alaska.*

MOVIES

One-Eyed Jacks, Two-Eyed King

Marlon Brando, the best American film actor, has now directed his first film – a Technicolor Western called *One-eyed Jacks* in which he plays the leading role. Because of the many fingers in any film-making pie, it is hard to know precisely how responsible a new director is for a picture. But making allowance for maximum assistance, one can still say that Brando shows here a vigorous directorial talent. The cameraman couldn't have selected *all* the shots; the editor didn't direct the actors and knit the scenes internally.

One-eyed Jacks (Paramount)

This film is so extraordinarily good in several elements that it raises the paradoxical question of why it was made. Many serious actors have done at least one Western, no matter how remote from their *metiers* (Cagney, Bogart, Clift); it was presumably inevitable that Brando would eventually tip his sombrero to the cinema gods. But this film isn't sufficiently meaty or novel to explain why Brando chose it as his first directorial-acting effort. It is only an exercise, well accomplished; not anything like the films he could and possibly will make.

That consideration aside, there is almost nothing left to offer but praise. The story is classic: the old Western motif of revenge. Brando and Karl Malden are American bandits in Mexico in the eighties and are trapped in the mountains by the *rurales.* Malden goes for horses and doesn't return; Brando surrenders and serves five years on a Sonora chain-gang, sustained only by hatred of the double-crosser. Then he goes gunning for Malden who has since become a sheriff in California and married a Mexican woman with a teen-age daughter.

The cat-and-mouse game between avenger and prey is well if predictably played out. Many plot conventions are observed. Brando seduces the stepdaughter in order to hurt Malden and ends up in love with the girl. An egregious bully of a jailer gets his comeuppance. There is even that most pat of patsies, the bit actor brought in to be caddish and get killed in order to show the hero's essentially noble nature and physical prowess. (Here it is a noisy lout who abuses a tart in a saloon.) I'm afraid there is even the scene where the hero, with jaw set, is lashed with a mule-whip across his bare back, fainting before he permits himself to cry out.

Yet it is never boring. Partly this is because, although some motivations are jostled about and the ending is hastily hemstitched, the dialogue by Guy Trosper and Calder Willingham keeps generally clear of the corn. Secondly, the viewer's eye is constantly being re-

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warded by scenes like the capture in the barren Sonora hills, the gorgeous chases along the Pacific shore (horses against the sea), and the Chinese fishing village near Monterey where Brando hides out. But chiefly the film's quality comes from its performances.

Previously Malden has often seemed more vocal than genuine, one of those actors who, like the early Laughton, trade on their lack of physical attraction. ("If such an unhandsome man has such a big part, he must be a good actor" seems to be the audience assumption on which he has relied.) Here, however, his performance is built on character instead of external effect and there is much less of the mirror-sense of Malden watching Malden. He has used careful architecture to violence rather than quick jumps to noise. As his daughter, Pina Pellicer doesn't trade, solely, on the winsomeness of a Spanish accent; she conveys credibly the somewhat pathetic surrender of an inexperienced girl to overwhelming physical attraction, combined with her conviction that if she falls in love with a man, there must be something good in him. This conviction – half-poetry, half-egotism – has its effect on the man, as it sometimes does even in non-fiction.

But the film's foundation is Brando as the Rio Kid. He creates a life lived close to the edge of life, whose texture is elemental emotion and frontier skill (handiness with a gun, with a horse). There is no moment when we doubt that, to a man reared in a raw world, that life and those skills are as complex and desirable as those of any modern executive reared in suburbia. In short, he makes the bases and goals of Rio's life seem, within its framework, reasonable. That reality of being, fired with Brando's innate emotional charge, thrusts this picture into motion from its opening moment.

He is an actor whose very shoulders seem to speak, to suggest a sense of energy always about to explode – in affection or attack: a frame packed with theatrical dynamism. His voice is still limited but he knows how to capitalize on its limitations. His face is smashed-brutish or authentically beautiful, depending simply on how he wants it to look.

Parodies of Brando have become a staple of night-club comics, usually based on the contemporary ruffians he has played so memorably that they have become archetypal social statements. The parodists ignore his Okinawan, German, Mexican, Deep Southerner (among others), none of which was merely The Wild One with an accent. I have just seen, belatedly, *Teahouse of the August Moon*, and I don't know another American film actor who could range from Zapata and Antony to Sakini, right down to the comic articulation of the legs.

Volcanic emotion, reliable technique, imaginative versatility, slashing personality. With all of these, where will Brando go? Prophecy is the critic's gallows, and I am not searching for the steps. Brando may waste himself as foolishly as he did in *The Fugitive Kind* (where he himself caricatured Kowalski). But the risks of prophecy must not prevent my saying that his future has the farthest artistic horizon of any American film actor – indeed, of *any* American actor of his generation except Christopher Plummer and Colleen Dewhurst. And now he proves to be a highly competent director!

In spite of the commercial tangle of our film-making, in spite of the visible and invisible pressures our society puts on an actor, especially a star, one can say of Brando what can be said at present of no other American actor: his future – brilliant or prosaic – depends only on himself.

Stanley Kauffmann

TELEVISION

And That Reminds Me...

On successive evenings CBS presented three great ladies of the theater in plays uniformly unworthy of their talents.

It began Monday with Ingrid Bergman in *Twenty-Four Hours in a Woman's Life*, John Mortimer's adaptation of a Stefan Zweig short story about a respectable widow's brief encounter with a worthless young gambler in Monte Carlo. You know these tales about respectable widows encountering worthless young gamblers. It is hard to wash the suds out of the best of them, and Monday evening no one even tried.

The next day I told a friend that Ingrid Bergman had played the role of a 70-year-old woman the night before. I explained that this 70-year-old woman had a grand-daughter who was about to elope with a wastrel, in the belief that she could reform him. My friend took it from there. "Then there was a flashback, as Ingrid told about how she herself once took up with a wastrel." "In Monte Carlo," I added. "Well, if it was Monte Carlo, he must have been a gambler. And sometime during the 24 hours they must have taken a carriage ride and danced with peasants, and, let's see, she probably gave him money for a new start in life but he took it to the casino, and – does he get killed at the end?"

I filled in the details. Then my friend came to the really crucial question: "How did Ingrid look? Was she as beautiful as ever?" I said I thought she was. Moreover, she gave that silly play everything she had.

Rip Torn as the hapless young gambler headed a huge supporting cast. By overacting outrageously, Mr. Torn may have been trying to be true to the show-boat quality of the script. At least that is one explanation of why he so often appeared to be a candidate for the nearest bedlam, and explanations would seem to be in order.

All in all, *Twenty-four Hours* was one

"That Mark Twain's *hawklike eyes looked straight through the pious mist and learned optimistic vapor with which the Marxian evangel was surrounded, to its central weak point or vacuum, adds, I think, some cubits to his stature. Mark Twain's common sense was closer to what a mature science will say—what history has now so devastatingly said—on the subject of socialism, than the highly intellectual presumptions of those who condescendingly regretted his 'frustration' by the American environment.*"

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more example of television's waste of talent and production skill. Ingrid Bergman's beauty of course is never really wasted, even when it is spent on TV's desert air. And made up as a 70-year-old, she gave promise that even time will not destroy that magnificent face; the beauty will be a joy forever. But that was the last time I will sit through a play about a worthless young gambler and a respectable widow, Bergman or no Bergman.

Tuesday evening Julie Harris headed a stellar cast in *The Night of the Storm* by Horton Foote. Here was an original play turned out by one of television's leading writers. But, again, impressive performers, like Miss Harris, Jo Van Fleet, Mildred Dunnock and E. G. Marshall, had to work with material unworthy of them.

Mr. Foote's play was concerned with the breakup of an East Texas family torn apart by economic depression. Just the right mood of hopelessness and helplessness was quickly established and hung over the entire performance like a Presence. That much must be said in the author's favor. But the essential weakness of his play became evident almost as soon as the characters began to speak. Their expository dialogue was as lengthy, as clumsy and as exhausting as any heard on an old-fashioned soap opera. By the time it was finally established that the young mother, Julie Harris, had already separated from her husband, who was sick and living nearby with his own mother and intellectual brother, and that Miss Harris and her spinster sister (Jo Van Fleet) maintained their toppling boarding house to support themselves and the two children, I had lost interest.

Throughout, the play lacked discipline. The extravagance of its characterizations and situations might have made a certain kind of sense had the story been told as it was seen through the eyes of the 12-year-old son, who figured importantly in the story. But the telling was as chaotic and loosely-constructed as any rambling autobiographical account in a Third Avenue bar.

We were left, then, as we so often are in television drama, with a cast of interesting characters in search of the play their creator has forgotten to provide. Despite the competence of the first-rate performers on hand, including an appealing boy named Brad Herrman, who played Julie Harris' son, no one of them was brought into clear focus. *The Night of the Storm* proved again that a moody Presence is simply not enough for serious drama, which I take it is what Mr. Foote had in mind.

The third of the great ladies, Shirley Booth, starred in *Welcome Home* on the US Steel Hour. Richard Nash, the author of this one, did not try for serious drama. If you ask me, he tried for a 26-week serial pilot film, and he probably made it. For in Jenny, the middle-aged housekeeper invented for this trifle, Shirley Booth has found a role that can go on indefinitely.

When *Welcome Home* opened, Jenny had already spent 25 years working for the Austin family, cooking, cleaning and being more of a mother to the children than Mrs. Austin herself. With the children married, the time had finally come to dismiss Jenny, or at least to provide for her, as they say in plays like this. But Jenny wanted to be as useful as she had always been; she did not want to be provided for. She wanted to be needed. There you have it, and if you have seen Shirley Booth, you know what she can do with a part like that. She did it Wednesday evening, oh how she did it, repeatedly, relentlessly, remorselessly.

Why, I asked myself in the first scene, doesn't Jenny move in with one of those children she brought up almost without Mrs. Austin's help? Mr. Nash must have asked himself the same question, because at the end he came up with that perfectly obvious question. But Mr. Nash had to fill out the US Steel Hour some way. He did it by letting Shirley Booth run through all her familiar little tricks.

I don't know how you feel about Shirley Booth's homely appeal. I have probably tipped my hand already, but let's say it right out; with me a little of it goes a long, long way. After about 15 minutes of all that folksy wisdom and naturalistic babble, the strain began to tell. By the time the second commercial came along, I felt more put upon that I have since Barry Fitzgerald's ancient mother tottered into the rectory in *Going My Way*.

Which reminds me – movies are better than ever. JOHN COGLEY

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Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Parochial and Private

Sirs:

There must be many liberals who disagree with your Jacobin concept in "Parochial and Private" (*NR*, March 20) that the American state is committed to the centripetal mission of exerting a secular force through maintenance of the public schools. The great debate in this nation continues to be between those accepting material norms and those accepting spiritual norms.

It is imperative that liberals in this country sustain the ideal of ". . . the belief that government should leave the mind and spirit of man absolutely free." (Mr. Justice Black, *Adler v. Board of Education* [1951] 342 US 485 at 497). This should mean absolute freedom to accept or reject secularism as much as absolute freedom to accept or reject Catholicism or Mormonism. To the extent "secularism" has positive religio-philosophic content, it is a mere sect among sects from which the state should stand aloof.

There are many who might disagree with Mr. Justice Douglas' statement that "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." (*Zorach v. Clauson* [1952] 343 US 306 at 313). If he is in error, let "secular, unifying, equalitarian force" prove itself in the marketplace of ideas without state support, for he continues (314) ". . . we find no constitutional requirement which makes it necessary for government to be hostile to religion and to throw its weight against efforts to widen the effective scope of religious influence."

If it were feasible, I should like to have the state recognize its duty to educate its citizens by a direct, unconditional grant to each child (family) to be spent on the education of his choice provided such education met prescribed national standards. Is is possible otherwise for the state to be separate from the church of secularism?

James S. Hurley
Rutgers University Law School

Sirs:

To say, as you do, that the use of tax monies exclusively for the support of the public school system is "the single most effective inducement available to the state to draw people to its system of schools," (which it surely is), and to assert further that it is "the mission of the state to discourage parochial schools" is to suggest that there is a type of education and educational product which is officially acceptable as American, and that no other schools or students are equally acceptable, that the others are somehow, or in some degree, second class.

I find these suggestions shocking, and illiberal in the extreme. While I recognize that these ideas are implicit in many of the arguments employed against public aid to the students of private schools, I do not believe that they can be reconciled with the principles of liberty and equality embodied in our law and customs. I challenge the validity and legitimacy of such concepts and I urge the editors of *The New Republic* to provide the opportunity for a more thorough and searching examination of this question. I hereby volunteer my services as a member of that exploratory expedition.

John J. Gilligan, Councilman
Cincinnati, Ohio

Sirs:

The issue is truly simple: as admitted by its proponents, a parochial education is, by purpose and by definition; indoctrination; it is education with an axe to grind. It is devoted, not to the free and untrammeled mind, but to special religious (hence, political and social) attitudes, not shared by all and rejected by many. Shall the federal aid now proposed (thank God!) for public schools apply equally to free education and to separatist indoctrination? No! . . . It is wrong to tax all of us to promote the religious and political ends of some of us.

Roland P. Mackay, M.D.
Chicago, Illinois

Sirs:

The question is: Who has prior rights in seeing to it that their children are educated – the government or the parents? The answer is that the primary right of education rests with the parents. In other words, the parents can

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send their children to a school of their (the parents') choosing without being penalized. That prompts the next question: Is there freedom of education in the United States today? The answer is no, because otherwise parents would not be penalized for sending their children to a school of their own choosing as they are now.

The only fair way to handle aid to education in this country is the way it was handled for the veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict, *i.e.*, give the aid in the form of a cash check to the individual student and let his parents decide what school he will attend on the primary and secondary level. In this way we will preserve separation of church and state, freedom of education, and government support of education.

Floyd E. Joyce
St. Paul, Minnesota

The Ugly Americans

Sirs:

I am growing tired of reading references to the horrible effects of our "Ugly Americans" on such things as our prestige and image in foreign countries. If your editorial staff has read the book in which this term was first presented, I am sure they will remember that the original "Ugly American" was by far the most desirable representative of the United States portrayed. I have become accustomed to seeing this damning display of ignorance in less well informed publications, but the sight of this much misused term in your March 13 article on the Peace Corps has pushed me to appealing for its proper use as a compliment rather than an insult.

Craig W. Allen
Department of Psychology
University of Michigan

Intellectual Slums

Sirs:

The lead editorial in the March 27 issue of *The New Republic* entitled "Intellectual Slums" is timely and thought-provoking. Although I find myself in general agreement with what it said, one unsubstantial premise rankles me. Throughout the article you seem to equate the PhD with excellent teaching ability. I cannot accept this premise. A PhD might well be a standard for research, but for teaching – No. The Dean who is tempted to pick one PhD at $8,000 a year as against two MA's at $4,000, had better also make sure that the PhD is twice as able a teacher. As you point out, there are many obstacles in the way of providing the required number of teachers for the colleges in the United States today, but it may well be that the over-emphasis by the universities and colleges on the PhD requirement for hiring and advancement is an important limiting factor.

Vernon A. Eagle
Orangebury, New York

From the Silent Generation

Sirs:

"Songs of the Silent Generation" (March 13) by Gene Bluestein is one of the finest pieces of journalism that I have seen about my generation. Well-written, quick-moving, it speaks with the authority of a person who well knows the mind of this, our "silent generation." Let's have more Bluestein.

Howard Kaplan
New York, N. Y.

Israel's Right to Try Eichmann

Sirs:

"Israel's Right to Try Eichmann" (March 20) is the most carefully argued and intelligently reasoned article on the Eichman case that I have seen in our American press. But isn't it sufficient, from the strictly judicial point of view, that Eichmann is located on Israel territory to bring him under the jurisdiction of Israel law? Once in Israel, he becomes liable under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators Law mentioned by Mr. Parsons, regardless of wherever his crimes were committed. In the absence of an international criminal court and in view of the political and international maneuvers likely to attend the setting up of an international tribunal, it would seem that if Israel were to waive her right to try Eichman – and Israel alone cared enough to bother to apprehend him – he would go scot free.

Vivian Dean
Silver Spring, Md.

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